LOWELL K. DYSON

RADICAL FARM ORGANIZATIONS AND PERIODICALS IN AMERICA, 1920–1960

Farm radicalism did not die with the Farmers Alliance or the Nonpartisan League. Throughout the decades from the 1920s to the 1960s, there flourished many organizations which demanded vast changes in rural society and the economic status of American agriculture. They condemned as conservative the aims and tactics of the well-established Grange, Farmers Union, and Farm Bureau Federation. Their own demands ranged through a spectrum from legislated minimum commodity prices on the one end to the redistribution and socialization of land on the other. Whereas the hallmarks of the three major farm groups, whatever their differences among themselves, were self-help through cooperative enterprises and the lobbying for legislative assistance, these other organizations sought to force change through direct action, by strikes, boycotts, or even threat of revolution.

Their beliefs boxed the political compass. Many of the larger groups, which sought membership among owner-operators and substantial tenants, were within the old tradition of agrarian protest in America. They denounced government favors to business but demanded the same for themselves. Milo Reno, the leader of the Farm Holiday Association, for instance, could berate both the New Dealers and the Communists for being anti-libertarian. At the same time he was calling for an agricultural plan which would have licensed every farmer in the nation and strictly limited his commodity sales. The Farm Holiday Association, the National Farmers Organization, the Dairy Farmers Union, the Farmers Guild, the Progressive Farmers, the U.S. Farmers Association and their branches fall into the category of those that would resort to forceful methods for the conservative end of preserving the family farm. A minority, like the Farmers Guild under Carl Mote, dabbled in such aberrations as anti-Semitism.

The organizations which enrolled agricultural workers and sharecroppers were much less property conscious, although there was often a variance between rhetoric and practical programs. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union, for example, called for the redistribution of land among those who actually worked on it. Both the leadership and the rank-and-file of the STFU recognized, however, that its most useful function was negotiating agreements with plantation owners for better living and working conditions and, perhaps even more important,

LOWELL K. DYSON is Assistant Professor of History at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

winning national sympathy for the miserable lives of its members. The same might be said for the Sharecroppers Union, the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, and several others in this list, except that they, unlike the STFU, were controlled by the Communist Party.

The American Communists established an Agricultural Bureau for their party in 1923 and founded their first front group, the United Farmers Educational League, in 1926. From that time until well into the 1950s they always had at least one, and often several, voices to speak the party line in rural areas. During the 1920s the party appealed mainly to the small and middle farmers of the plains whom the drop in commodity prices had hurt. The onset of the Great Depression brought feverish activity by the Communists in many areas. They organized sharecroppers in Alabama and migratory workers on both coasts. Through the Farmers National Committee for Action, they even tried to appeal to the once-prosperous followers of Milo Reno. After 1935, when the Communist International called for "Popular Fronts," most of these groups chose to move into the National Farmers Union where they formed a left-wing bloc until expelled under various pretexts in the Cold War era of the 1950s.

Most of these organizations have left no archival records.[1] Their histories, as a result, can come only from the fading memories of surviving members and from the pages of their publications. I have interviewed many members of the various groups and have tried to locate the periodicals wherever possible. The tracing of lineage and relationship was often like assembling a jigsaw puzzle with an occasional missing piece. The largest single collection of radical farm journals is in the National Agricultural Library, although inquiries to that important repository unfortunately often bring the response that an item is lost or misplaced.

This guide is based on my analysis of each organization. Two sections follow this introduction: First, a glossary of radical farm groups and, second, an annotated listing of their journals.

A Glossary of Radical Farm Groups

Cannery and agricultural workers industrial union (tuul). The rural workers' affiliate of the Trade Union Unity League, the Communist party's labor federation. Originally formed in January 1930 as the Agricultural Workers Industrial League; dissolved 17 March 1935 along with TUUL.

Cooperative central exchange. The largest consumers' cooperative society in the nation during the late 1920s, operating primarily in rural Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Dominated by Communist officers until a split with the party in 1929.

Committee of farmers state organizations. A group of dissident state units of the National Farmers Union. It opposed the move of the NFU toward a reconciliation with the New Deal and away from the price-fixing policies of the former president, John A. Simpson, and Milo Reno. Led by ousted NFU secretary, E. E. Kennedy. Prepared the ground in 1938 for founding the Farmers Guild in 1939.

1. The outstanding exception is the Southern Tenant Farmers Union papers in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

DAIRY FARMERS UNION. Formed 8 October 1936 to fight for the principle of collective bargaining between producers and dealers to establish a fair price for milk in the New York milkshed. Conducted wide-scale strikes, 1937, 1939, 1941. Headed by Archie Wright until December 1940 when he resigned after denying charges that he was a Communist. Began faltering after Wright's followers bolted in May 1941 to found the Farmers Union of the New York Milk Shed. Affiliated with District 50, United Mine Workers of America, in February 1942 as the United Dairy Farmers.

EASTERN FARMERS UNION. The New Jersey and Pennsylvania affiliate of the National Farmers Union which revoked its charter in 1951. The EFU had opposed the Marshall Plan and other cold war policies and had supported Henry Wallace for President in 1948. Continued as an independent organization until 1959.

FARM HOLIDAY ASSOCIATION. Formed in May 1932 to fight for higher farm prices and to resist foreclosure actions and tax sales. Conducted major strikes, August-September 1932 and October 1933. Lost strength after 1933 and dissolved by December 1937. Led by Milo Reno, John Bosch, and Usher Burdick. Major strength in Iowa, Minnesota, and adjacent states.

FARM-LABOR UNION. Founded 30 October 1920 in Bonham, Texas, to enforce a system of price-fixing on farm products, especially cotton. Built considerable strength in Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, but declined rapidly after 1925.

FARM RESEARCH, INC. An agricultural counterpart to Labor Research Association. Begun in 1931 by Harold Ware and Lem Harris to gather and analyze agricultural reports. Long headed by Charles J. Coe.

FARMERS GUILD. Permanent organization begun February 1939 to succeed the Committee of Farmers State Organizations. Grew increasingly anti-Semitic under the influence of Carl Mote. Almost completely disrupted by Mote's election as president in 1944 and his deposition a year later.

FARMERS NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR ACTION. Founded at the Farmers Relief Conference in Washington sponsored by the Communist party in December 1932. Headed by Lem Harris and intended to coordinate the activities of farm groups under Communist leadership. Disappeared in 1936 when members were urged to join the Farm Holiday Association or National Farmers Union.

FARMERS UNION OF THE NEW YORK MILK SHED. Begun in May 1941 by members of the Dairy Farmers Union who supported Archie Wright during the struggle within that group. Under Wright's leadership it demanded a second front during the war and opposed American cold war programs afterwards. From 1944 to 1951 it was affiliated with the National Farmers Union as its Northeastern Division. It sponsored an abortive milk strike in 1957 and disappeared after merger with the Dairy Farmers of America in 1958.

FOOD, TOBACCO, AGRICULTURAL AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA (CIO). Name assumed by the former United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America in 1944. Headed by Donald Henderson. Expelled from the CIO in 1950 as Communist-dominated.

IOWA FARMERS UNION. The Iowa affiliate of the National Farmers Union until the early 1950s. From 1921 until 1936 it largely reflected the radical programs of Milo Reno, an oldtime greenbacker who favored a farmers' general strike to win higher prices. Served as the foundation on which Reno built the Farm Holiday Association. Participated in founding the Committee of Farmers State Organizations, but did not join the Farmers Guild. Headed after 1947 by Fred Stover, a leader in the Progressive party opposed to American cold war policies. Stover was involved in several battles for control after the National Farmers Union revoked the charter, and he finally changed the organization's name to the U.S. Farmers Association.

MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNION. An adjunct of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union in the early 1940s.

NATIONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNION (AFL). Name assumed by former National Farm Labor Union in 1952.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL WORKERS. A Communist-dominated organization, headed by Don Henderson, which served as the clearing house for work among agricultural laborers during the period between the dissolution of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union in 1935 and the beginning of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America in 1937.

NATIONAL FARM LABOR UNION (AFL). Name assumed by the former Southern Tenant Farmers Union in 1946 when it affiliated with AFL and sought to expand beyond its earlier regional base.

NATIONAL FARMERS ORGANIZATION. Founded in Iowa in 1955 to protest low hog prices. Under the dynamic leadership of Oren Lee Staley it has grown to a large membership by demanding collective bargaining with processors of individual commodities and industry-wide contracts governing the sale of these goods. It has sponsored selective strikes or "holding actions" during the past decade.

PROGRESSIVE FARMERS OF AMERICA. A secret farm group formed in 1926 by William Bouck and intended to be a nationwide extension of his Western Progressive Farmers. Several Communists among top leaders. Endorsed by the United Farmers Educational League. Gained considerable membership in the states from Montana to Wisconsin before rapidly collapsing as the result of dissension among the leadership.

RED PEASANT INTERNATIONAL (Farmers and Peasants Red International, Farmers International, *Krestintern*). Not an American organization, this was the Communist party's international farmers group, of which the United Farmers Educational League was the American branch. Formed in Moscow in 1923 and disappeared in the 1930s.

SHARECROPPERS UNION. Organized by the Communist party in Alabama in 1931. Advocated use of strikes to raise work rate. Was suppressed with a good deal of violence. Some locals organized in Louisiana in the mid-1930s. After the Communist party adopted the "Popular Front" program in 1935, members were advised to affiliate either with the National Farmers Union or one of the independent farm workers' unions supported by the National Committee of Agricultural and Rural Workers.

SIMON J. LUBIN SOCIETY. A California group begun in the 1930s to study the plight of migratory workers. A California legislative committee declared that Unit 104 of the professional section of the Communist party had organized it.[2]

SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION. Founded in July 1934 by a group of Arkansas tenants to protest the displacement caused by the programs of the AAA. Soon broadened to encompass the problems of small farmers and sharecroppers. Many early organizers were members of Socialist party. Became a part of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America in 1937 but withdrew after a fight over Communist domination in 1939. Main area of strength was Arkansas and adjacent states.

UNITED CANNERY, AGRICULTURAL, PACKING AND ALLIED WORKERS OF AMERICA (CIO). Founded in July 1937 to organize the unskilled workers dependent on agriculture. After the secession of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union in 1939, the group centered its attention on cannery and packing plant workers rather than field labor. Dominated by Communists with Don Henderson as president.

UNITED DAIRY FARMERS. The name assumed by the former Dairy Farmers Union when it, along with a group of Michigan dairymen, became a unit of District 50, United Mine Workers of America, in February 1942. E. E. Kennedy soon brought in some Farmer Guild units. After futile attempts to build a nationwide organization, it gradually disintegrated.

UNITED FARMERS EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE. The agricultural counterpart of the Trade Union Educational League, sponsored by the Communist party and headed by Alfred Knutson. It was the American section of the Red Peasants International. Its members were to work inside established farm groups to instruct them in the Communist view. It was actually founded in 1926 although Harold Ware claimed to represent such an organization at the 1923 Farmer-Labor convention.

UNITED FARMERS LEAGUE. Name assumed by the former United Farmers Educational League in 1930 after Stalin proclaimed that revolution was imminent and that the time for education was past. Formed a component part of the Farmers National Committee for Action. Dissolved in 1935.

UNITED FARMERS PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION. Organized in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey in 1932 to resist dispossession. Formed a component part of the Farmers National Committee for Action. Joined the National Farmers Union in 1935 to form the core of the later Eastern Farmers Union.

U.S. FARMERS ASSOCIATION. Name assumed by the former Iowa Farmers Union after loss of its charter in the 1950s. Strong opponent of American foreign policies. Led by Fred Stover.

WESTERN PROGRESSIVE FARMERS. A group which seceded from the Washington State Grange in 1921 after the State Master, William Bouck, was suspended by the National Grange for his radical views.

2. California, Senate, *Report Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California* 55th sess. (1943), 86.

WORKERS AND FARMERS COOPERATIVE UNITY ALLIANCE. Seceding group formed in 1930 when pro-Communist elements withdrew from the Cooperative Central Exchange after it repudiated party control. Dissolved in 1938.

A List of Radical Farm Periodicals

Historians of American radical movements are deeply indebted to Walter Goldwater whose carefully assembled volume gives an annotated bibliography of 321 journals. Goldwater excluded agricultural publications, however, and this list partially fills the void. I have followed his stylistic practices, in the main, for the sake of uniformity:

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Ja	January	Jl	July
F	February	Ag	August
Mr	March	S	September
Ap	April	O	October
My	May	N	November
Je	June	D	December

n.s. = new series (sometimes stated, sometimes implied).
+ = continued publication beyond period covered.
? = date or number doubtful, or question as to whether a given issue was the first or final one.
Volumes are given in Roman, numbers in Arabic numerals.
Numbers in parentheses after titles of periodicals refer to their numbers in this bibliography.[3]

An asterisk following a title indicates that it is not included in the *Union List of Serials*. In these instances I have tried to locate existing copies.

1. *Agricultural Unionist.** Washington, D.C. I.1-II.2, Ag 1952-F 1954. Quarterly journal of the National Agricultural Workers Union (AFL), and the last issued by the group which was originally the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Superseded *Farm Labor News* (14). Copies in National Agricultural Library and STFU papers (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).
2. *Agricultural Worker.** San Jose, Cal. Numbering not known, F 20?-Ap 17?, 1934. This journal was "published by Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union."[4] No copies known to exist.
3. *C. & A. W.I.U. Bulletin.** San Jose, Cal. Numbering not known, ?-Ap 17-?, 1934. The information is the same as that for number 2.
4. *CIO News: UCAPAWA Edition.** Washington, D.C. I.16-II.3, Mr 26, 1938-Ja 16, 1939. A separate edition of the *CIO News*, sent to members of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America. Ten numbers, issued irregularly between the above dates, adopted the volume number of the main edition. Superseded *Rural Worker* (36); superseded by *UCAPAWA News* (42). Copies in Department of Labor Library and National Agricultural Library.
5. *Conference Bulletin.** Bismarck, N.D. I.1-2, F 1-24, 1933. Mimeographed bulletin issued by the Call Committee for the Farmers Relief Conference, affiliated with the Farmers National Committee for Action. Copies in author's possession.

3. Quoted by permission of the author, Walter Goldwater, *Radical Periodicals in America: 1890–1950* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Library, 1966), p. x.
4. Stuart Jamieson, *Labor Unionism in American Agriculture*, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 836 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1945), 419.

6. *Cooperative Pyramid Builder.* Superior, Wis. I.1-VI.6, Jl 1926-Je 1931. Monthly magazine of the Cooperative Central Exchange. The most important English language source for the revolt within that organization against Communist domination. See *Workers and Farmers Cooperative Bulletin* (52).

7. *Dairy Farmer.* Ogdensburg, N.Y. I.1-9, Jl 25, 1938-Mr 25, 1939. Monthly organ of the Dairy Farmers Union. Continued by *Union Farmer* [2] (46).

8. *Defender.** Glenmont, N.Y. XVIII.1-XX.2, F 1959-S 1961. Irregular journal of the Dairy Farmers of America, a small group which absorbed the last elements of the Farmers Union of the New York Milk Shed. Continued *Northeastern Union Farmer* (29). Copies in National Agricultural Library.

9. *Eastern Union Farmer.* Hightstown; Trenton, N.J. I.1-XV.5, F 1944-F 1959. Monthly, later quarterly, organ of the Eastern Farmers Union.

10. *FTA News.* Chicago; New York. IV. 23-[X].7, D 14, 1944-S 1950. Published semi-monthly until May 1947, then monthly, by the Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America. The last year lacks a volume number. Continued *UCAPAWA News* (42).

11. *Facts for Farmers.* Washington, D.C.; New York. [I.1]-VII.5, Ja? 1935- My 1941; n.s. I.1-XXII.5, Jl 1941-N. 1962. Monthly publication of Farm Research, Inc. Edited by Harold Ware, Charles Garland, and Charles J. Coe. Early issues lacked numbering. See *Farm News Letter* (16).

12. *Farm Front.** Wallkill, N.Y. I.1-VII.9, F 1943-O 1950. Irregular, later monthly, publication of the New York State Farm Commission, Communist party. Edited by Fred Briehl. Copies in National Agricultural Library.

13. *Farm Holiday News.* St. Paul, Minn.; Ames, Ia.; Marissa, Ill.; Minneapolis, Minn. I.1-III.15, F 1933-Ag 14, 1936. Published monthly and later semi-monthly by the Farm Holiday Association. Edited by A. C. Townley, Milo Reno, H. R. Gross, and Dale Kramer. Merged with *Farmers National Weekly* (23) to form *National Farm Holiday News* (29).

14. *Farm Labor News.* Memphis, Tenn.; Washington, D.C. I.1-VI.8, Ja 1946-N 1951. Monthly journal of the National Farm Labor Union, the new name of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Superseded *Farm Worker* (17); superseded by *Agricultural Unionist* (1).

15. *Farm-Labor Union News.** Bonham, Texarkana, Texas. I.1-V.42, 1920?-My 20, 1926. Weekly organ of the Farm-Labor Union, edited by E. R. Meitzen. National Agricultural Library has scattered issues of IV and most of V; no other copies located.

16. *Farm News Letter.** Washington, D.C. I.1-11, Jl 29, 1932-Ja 23, 1933. Mimeographed publication issued irregularly by Farm Research, Inc. Edited by Rob F. Hall. Superseded by *Farmers National Weekly* (23). See also *Facts for Farmers* (11). Facsimile copies in possession of author.

17. *Farm Worker.* Memphis, Tenn. II.1-IV.4, S 1943-Jl 1944. Published by the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and Migratory Agricultural Workers Union. Despite the impressive volume numbering, there were only four issues of this two-page sheet. Continued *Tenant Farmer* (41); superseded by *Farm Labor News* (14).

18. *Farmer-Labor Defender.** Dunn Center, N.D. XVIII.32-XIX.36, F 14, 1934-Mr 13, 1935. Weekly organ of the Defense Council of the North Dakota Farm Holiday Association. Edited by Usher Burdick; ceased publication after he entered Congress. Copies in North Dakota Historical Society.

19. *Farmers' and Peasants' International Correspondent.* Berlin [I].1-12; [II].1-2; [III].1, Ja-D 1927; S-O 1928; ? 1929. English language edition of *Internationaler Bauern-Korrespondent,* the journal of the Red Peasant International or *Krestintern.* It carried articles on the American farming situation. Superseded *Krestianskii Internatsional,* which had no translated edition.

20. *Farmers Defender.* Ogdensburg, N.Y. I.1-VI.11, F 1942-D 1947. Published monthly by the Farmers Union of the New York Milk Shed, edited by Archie Wright. Superseded *Farmers Guide* (21); continued by *Northeastern Union Farmer* (30). See also *Union Farmer* [2] (46).

21. *Farmers Guide.** Jordanville, N.Y. Numbering not known, ? 1941. Interim publication of Archie Wright's faction in the Dairy Farmers Union, which became the Farmers Union of the New York Milk Shed.[5] Superseded by *Farmers Defender* (20). No copies known to exist.

22. *Farmers Guild News.* Frankfort, Ind. LXI.4-10; n.s. I.8-VI.5, Ap 1942-Ap 1949. Monthly journal of the Farmers Guild. The first seven issues continue the volume numbering of *Union Farmer* [1] (45) which it superseded. Some numbering duplicated in 1945 when Guild officials deposed the anti-Semitic president, Carl Mote.

23. *Farmers National Weekly.* Washington, D.C.; Chicago; Minneapolis. I.1-15, Ja 30, 1933-N 10, 1933; n.s. [I.1]-III.25, Ja 15, 1934-Ag 21, 1936. Official organ of the Farmers National Committee for Action. Best written and probably most important Communist farm publication in the United States. Superseded *Farm News Letter* (16). Incorporated *Organized Farmer* (31) as a separate page in I.10-15. New series replaced *Producers News* (33) as official publication of the United Farmers League and *Workers and Farmers Cooperative Bulletin* (52) as official publication of the Workers and Farmers Cooperative Unity Alliance. Merged with *Farm Holiday News* (13) to form *National Farm Holiday News* (29).

24. *Iowa Union Farmer.* Columbus Junction; Des Moines, Iowa. I.1-[XXXVIII.12], ? 1918-[Ap] 1956. Semi-monthly, later monthly journal of the Iowa Farmers Union. Volume numbering confused. Superseded by *U.S. Farm Union News* (44).

25. *Louisiana Farmers Union News.** New Orleans. Unnumbered and irregularly numbered, Je 1937?-D 1940. Mimeographed newsletter of the Louisiana Farmers Union. Superseded *Southern Farm Leader* (39). Forty-six issues, Ja 1, 1937-D 1940, in Farm Research, Inc. papers.

26. *Militant Farmer.** Minneapolis, Minn. I.1-3?, Je?-O 10, 1934? According to the masthead, this bi-monthly was published "in the interest of the Farmers' organizations fighting against foreclosures and evictions such as the Farmers' Holiday Association of Minnesota, North Dakota, and Montana, by the Agrarian Pub. Co." Probably a Trotskyist split from the United Farmers League. The Montana Historical Society has I.3 on microfilm.

27. *Mother Earth: A Libertarian Farm Paper, Devoted to the Life of Thoreauvian Anarchy.* Craryville, N.Y. I.1-17, Ap 1933-D 1934. A monthly bulletin begun as the voice of the New York Farm Holiday Association. A curious mixture of the doctrines of anarchism, social credit, technocracy, and the farm strike by editor John G. Scott.

28. *N.F.O. Reporter.** Corning, Iowa, I.1+, S 1956+. Semi-monthly journal of the National Farmers Organization. Copies in National Agricultural Library and elsewhere.

5. Mentioned in *Dairy Farmers Digest,* 20 January and 20 April 1941.

29. *National Farm Holiday News.* Minneapolis, Minn. I.1-II.9, Ag 28, 1936-D 31, 1937. Weekly, then semi-weekly, organ of the Farm Holiday Association during the era of the "Popular Front." Lively and well edited by Dale Kramer. Formed by merger of *Farm Holiday News* (13) and *Farmers National Weekly* (23).
30. *Northeastern Union Farmer.* Ogdensburg, N.Y. VII.1-XVII.7, Ja 1948-N 1958. Monthly journal of the Farmers Union of the New York Milk Shed. Continued *Farmers Defender* (20); continued by *Defender* (8).
31. *Organized Farmer.** Dublin, Pa. I.1-II.14?, Ag? 1932-Jl 15?, 1933; n.s. numbering not known, Ap 1935-?. Mimeographed weekly voice of the United Farmers Protective Association. Merged into *Farmers National Weekly* (23), Jl 25, 1933; resumed independent publication in Ap 1935.[6] Copies in the Farmers National Committee for Action papers.
32. *Organizer's Report.** Washington, D.C. Nos. 1-?, Je 1933-Mr 1934? Issued irregularly by the Farmers National Committee for Action to instruct local organizers. At least three numbers issued during summer 1933.[7] No copies known to exist.
33. *Producers News: National Edition.** Plentywood, Mont. XIV.35-XVI.47, N 27, 1931-F 16, 1934. Official weekly organ of the United Farmers League, edited by Erik Bert. Superseded *United Farmer* (49); superseded by *Farmers National Weekly* (23). Copies in Montana and Minnesota Historical Societies.
34. *Rural Justice.** Bolling, Ala. I.1-IV.9, ? 1939-My 1943? Published on behalf of the farming poor by Father Arthur W. Terminiello who aspired to be a sort of rural Father Coughlin. Terminiello opposed the war and began printing articles by the anti-Semite, Carl Mote. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has microfilm of My 1942-My 1943.
35. *Rural Observer.* San Francisco. I.1-IV.2, S 25, 1937-Mr 28, 1941. Monthly, semi-monthly, and irregular journal of the Simon J. Lubin Society of California. This began publication at the time of the cessation of *Rural Worker* (36) and was interested in the same field.
36. *Rural Worker.* Washington, D.C.; Trenton, N.J. I.1-II.8, Ag 1935-S 1937. Published monthly by the National Committee of Agricultural and Rural Workers. Probably superseded *Agricultural Worker* (2); superseded by *CIO News: UCAPAWA Edition* (4).
37. *S.T.F.U. News.* Memphis, Tenn. I.1-4, Ap-Jl/Ag 1938; unnumbered, Mr 21, 1939-Mr 16, 1941. Mimeographed irregular organ of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Superseded *Sharecroppers' Voice* (38); superseded by *Tenant Farmer* (41).
38. *Sharecroppers' Voice.* Memphis, Tenn. I.1-III.4, Ap 1935-S 1937. Monthly journal of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. The first eight issues were mimeographed. Superseded by *S.T.F.U. News* (37).
39. *Southern Farm Leader.* New Orleans. I.1-II.3, My 1936-Ap/My 1937. Official monthly organ of the Sharecroppers Union. Superseded *Union Leader* (47); superseded by *Louisiana Farmers Union News* (25).
40. *Southern States Cotton Cropper.** Memphis, Tenn. Unnumbered, S 1940. Published by a small group of tenant farmers who retained affiliation with the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America after the Southern Tenant Farmers Union seceded. This copy is in the STFU papers (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill). No other issues known to exist.

6. *Farmers National Weekly*, 12 April 1935.
7. Ibid., 5 June, 23 June, 10 July 1933; 2 March 1934.

41. *Tenant Farmer.* Memphis, Tenn. I.1-11, My 5, 1941-My 15, 1942. Monthly voice of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Superseded *S.T.F.U. News* (37); continued by *Farm Worker* (17).

42. *UCAPAWA News.* Washington; Philadelphia; Chicago. I.1-IV.22, Jl 1939-D 1, 1944. Issued monthly, then bi-monthly, finally semi-monthly by the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America. Superseded *CIO News: UCAPAWA Edition* (4); continued by *FTA News* (10).

43. *U.S. Farm News.** Des Moines, Iowa. Numbering irregular, Mr 1958+. Official monthly journal of the U.S. Farmers Association. Edited by Fred Stover. Continued *U.S. Farm Union News* (44). Copies in National Agricultural Library.

44. *U.S. Farm Union News.** Des Moines, Iowa. Numbering irregular, My 1956-F 1958. Official bi-monthly organ of the U.S. Farmers Association. Continued *Iowa Union Farmer* (24); continued by *U.S. Farm News* (43). Copies in National Agricultural Library.

45. *Union Farmer* [1].* Marissa, Ill. Numbering not known, D? 1937-Mr 1942? Official organ of the Committee of Farmers State Organizations and later of the Farmers Guild. Probably continued the volume numbering of *National Union Farmer*, journal of the National Farmers Union. Superseded by *Farmers Guild News* (22) as official paper in 1942, but listed in Ayers *Guide* through 1952 edition. National Agricultural Library has LX.3, Ja 1941; no other issues known to exist.

46. *Union Farmer* [2]. Ogdensburg, N.Y. I.10-III.11, Ap 25, 1939-Ja 1942. Published monthly by the Dairy Farmers Union. Edited by Archie Wright until his resignation from the DFU. Continued *Dairy Farmer* (7); superseded by *United Dairy Farmer* (48).

47. *Union Leader.** New Orleans. Numbering not known, Jl 1935-Ap? 1936. Mimeographed journal of the Sharecroppers Union. Superseded by *Southern Farm Leader* (39). At least one issue is in the papers of the American Fund for Public Service, New York Public Library.

48. *United Dairy Farmer.** Utica, N.Y.; Washington. I.1-III.12, My 2, 1942-Ag 20, 1945. Published semi-monthly by the United Dairy Farmers, District 50, United Mine Workers of America, formerly the Dairy Farmers Union. Superseded *Union Farmer* [2] (46). Copies in National Agricultural Library.

49. *United Farmer.* Bismarck, N.D.; New York Mills, Minn.; Superior, Wis. I.1-VI.6, Mr 1926-Jl 1931. Monthly, then weekly, and again monthly official organ of the United Farmers Educational League, United Farmers League and the Progressive Farmers of Iowa. Second class mailing privilege suspended in 1931, and superseded by *Producers News: National Edition* (33).

50. *Western Farmer.** Fresno, Cal. Numbering not known, ? 1935. Possibly the agricultural counterpart of the Communist party's *Western Worker.*[8] No copies known to exist.

51. *Western Progressive Farmer.* Seattle; Prosser, Washington, I.1-IV.12?, N? 1923-O 1927? Official monthly journal of the Western Progressive Farmers and the Progressive Farmers of America.

52. *Workers and Farmers Cooperative Bulletin.** Superior, Wis. Numbering not known. 1931?-1934? Published by the Workers and Farmers Cooperative Unity Alliance. Superseded by *Farmers National Weekly* (23). See also *Cooperative Pyramid Builder* (6). No copies known to exist.

8. Mentioned in *Farmers National Weekly*, 26 April 1935.